

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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O P 231115Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4893
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AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SANA PRIODITY
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MOGADISCIO 0826

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SO, US
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH SIAD, MAY 22, 12:00 NOON

REFS: A) STATE 08505; B) STATE 115326; C) STATE 115402

SUMMARY: IN HOUR AND A HALF MEETING SIAD ACKNOWLEDGED THAT: HE HAD
HEARD EVERYTHING (SIC) FROM ADDOU, OUR AID MISSION WOULD BE WELCOMED;
SETTLEMENT OF TERRITORIAL DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS WAS A PILLAR
OF GSDR FOREIGN POLICY; FUTURE OF US/GSDR RELATIONS REQUIRED
PATIENCE AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING; PROGRESS ON US INVESTMENTS WAS
QUESTIONABLE; THE US HAD AN OPPORTUNITY PLAY MAJOR CONSTRUCTIVE
ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA; AND; WELCOMED MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM
US FRIENDS AND ALLIES BUT APPRECIATED THE PROBLEMS WITH US ARMS
TRANSFERS AT THIS TIME. END SUMMARY.

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1. SIAD RECEIVED ME CORDIALLY AND PROMPTLY, INQUIRED ABOUT THE RESULTS

OF MY MEDEVAC TO WASH AND REGRETTEED HIS INABILITY SEE ME ON THE
EVE OF MY DEPARTURE FOR THE ABIDJAN COM CONFERENCE. HE NOTED
EMPHATICALLY THAT REPORTS THAT HE HAD REFUSED SEE ME WERE INCORRECT,
EXPLAINING THAT HE WAS WORKING UNDER EXTRAORDINARY PRESSURES AND

SOMETIMES COULD NOT ADHERE TO HIS SCHEDULE.

2. REFERRING TO ADDOU'S MEETINGS WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY AND ASST SECRETARY, AS WELL AS MY OWN MEETINGS WHILE IN WASH; I SAID I WAS ENCOURAGED BY WHAT APPEARED TO BE A SINCERE DESIRE OF BOTH GOVTS TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT OUR BILATERAL REATIONS IN ORDER TO DETERMINE HOW, WHEN AND WHERE APPROPRIATE ACTIONS COULD BE INITIATED TO IMPROVE THEM. SIAD REPLIED THAT ADDOU HAD INFORMED HIM PROMPTLY OF THESE MEETINGS. HE HAD ALSO HEARD ABOUT OUR MEDIA REPORTS QUOTING THE PRESIDENT'S DESIRES TO IMPROVE RELATIONS.

3. FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF MY INSTRUCTIONS IN WHICH I EMPHASIZED IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL CONGRESSIONAL CONSTRAINTS ON AID (DRAWING ON AID ADMINISTRATOR GILLIGAN'S PRESENTATION AT ABIDJAN) I ASKED SIAD IF HE FULLY APPRECIATED PROBLEMS OF OUR EXECUTIVE BRANCH IN TRYING TO ACHIEVE ITS GOALS. SIAD SAID HE RECOGNIZED DESIRE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO BE RESPONSIVE TO THE POOR, SICK AND IGNORANT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. HOWEVER HE HAD DIFFICULTY IN UNDERSTANDING HOW THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRES COULD MOVE SO RAPIDLY IN AREAS OF US MILITARY/STRATEGIC INTERESTS AND SO SLOWLY IN AREAS OF HUMAN

DEVELOPMENT. QTE WHILE UNDERSTANDING THE THE WEST -- I WAS AFTERALL BROUGHT UP AND RAISED UNDER THE GENEROUS ITALIAN PEOPLE -- NEVERTHELESS I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE MOST TECHNOLOGICALLY-ADVANCED AND WEALTHY COUNTRIES REQUIRE SUCH LARGE ASSISTANCE MISSIONS AND FEASIBILITY STUDIES WITH ALL THE ENORMOUS PAPER WORK UNQTE. SIAD SAID THAT WITH THE COMPUTER SYSTEMS OF THE WEST

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HE EXPECTED MORE EFFICIENCY THAN FROM RUSSIA AND OTHER SOCIALIST SYSTEMS IN REACHING OUT TO AFRICAN PEOPLES. SUCH WAS NOT THE CASE. INTERJECTING MY HOPE THAT WE COULD DISCUSS THIS LAST POINT FURTHER, SIAD DEMURRED, STATING HIS TIME WAS LIMITED.

4. CONTINUING, SIAD SAID HE WAS AWARE THAT THE MFA HAD INFORMED ME OUR AID MISSION WOULD BE GIVEN EVERY OPPORTUNITY COMPLETE ITS SURVEY PROMPTLY AND EFFBZAENTY. I ADDED MY HOPE THAT MY MISSION COULD ALSO LOOK FORWARD TO SIMILAR OPENESS AND THAT FRANK INTERCHANGE WHICH UNFORTUNATELY HAD BEEN LACKING IN THE PAST. REPLYING SIAD SAID THE COOLNESS WHICH CHARACTERIZED OUR RELATIONS SINCE THE REVOLUTION HAD NOT HELPED. NEVERTHELESS WITH PATIENCE AND UNDERSTANDING ON BOTH SIDES IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MOVE AHEAD. HOWEVER, HE STATED FRANKLY AND WITHOUT EMOTION HIS CONCERN THAT QTE TOO MANY FOREIGNERS CAME TO SOMALIA WITH THEIR OWN IDEAS OF WHAT IS BEST FOR US WITHOUT LISTENING TO OUR KNOWLEDGE OF OUR DEVELOPMENT NEEDS. AND UNFORTUNATELY WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING OUR SOMALI CULTURE, HOSTORY, OR THE PRIDE AND DIGNITY OF OUR PEOPLE UNQTE.

5. REGARDING THE FUTURE OF GSDR/US RELATIONS, SIAD SAID HIS GOVT'S POLICY REMAINS EXACTLY AS STATED TO PRESIDENT FORD WHEN HE MET WITH HIM IN WASH. CONTINUING, HOWEVER, SIAD REQUESTED ME TO INFORM WASH. THAT FOR SOMALIA TO TAKE ANY ACTION AGAINST ANY ONE OF THE SUPER POWERS WOULD BE QTE STUPID UNQTE. FURTHERMORE, CONTINUED AMERICAN PRESS ACCOUNTS HAT SOMALIA WAS A PUPPET OF THE RUSSIANS WERE FALSE. SOMALIA WITH ONLY FOUR MILLION PEOPLE WELCOMED FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL NATIONS AND ONLY DEMANDED RESPECT FOR ITS SOVEREIGNTY, DIGNITY AND THE PEOPLE'S PRIDE IN THEIR INDEPENDENT WAYS. HE WAS ALSO TROUBLED BY AN AMERICAN BELIEF THAT SOMALI'S FRIENDSHIP QTE WAS FOR SALE. THERE ARE NO QUID PRO QUOS, NONE WHATSOEVER. UNQUOTE REPLYING, I NOTED MY UNDERSTANDING OF SOMALIA'S UNIQUE CULTURAL RELIGIOUS AND LINGUISTIC HERITAGE AND SOMALIA'S CONCERN THAT ITS SOVEREIGNTY, CHOICE OF GOVT AND THE DIGNITY OF ITS PEOPLE BE RESPECTED; WHAT I FAILED TO COMPREHAND, HOWEVER, WAS MY PERCEPTION OF SOMALI'S FAILURE TO EVIDENCE SIMILAR RESPECT FOR THE
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AMERICAN PEOPLES' CHOICE OF ITS GOVT TO CARRY OUT THE WILL OF ITS PEOPLE IN WAYS WHICH DIFFERED FROM THOSE SUPERPOWERS WHO CAN ACT WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE WILLS OF THEIR CITIZENS. SIAD LAUGHED AND SAID, QUOTE NOW, USING YOUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM WE CAN AGREE TO DISAGREE AND DISCUSS THIS SOME OTHER TIME. UNQUOTE

6. REGARDING US INVESTMENTS, SIAD ADMITTED THAT THE GSDR WAS WARY AND PROCEDED WITH GREAT CAUTION. THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY STILL REMEMBERED PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN PRE AND POST INDEPENDENCE DAYS, INCLUDING CORRUPT PRACTICES BY SOMALIS AND WESTERN INVESTORS. CONSEQUENTLY, WHILE THE GSDR HAD A COMMON-SENSE INVESTMENT CODE HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT IMMEDIATE PROGRESS WAS POSSIBLE.

7. SHIFTING TO QUESTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE I ASKED SIAD IF HE WOULD ELABORATE ON HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO ADDOU. WITHOUT REPLYING IMMEDIATELY AND WITH GREAT RELUCTANCE -- LOOKING AGAIN AND AGAIN AT HIS WATCH AND AT ONE POINT STARTING TO RISE FROM HIS CHAIR -
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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MOGADISCIO 0826

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SIAD SAID THERE SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN THE AREA AND I CAN TELL YOU THIS:
QUOTE A) AT TAIZ I TOLD EVERYONE THAT SOMALIA WOULD NEVER PARTICIPATE
IN A RED SEA CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD CONSIDER USING THE PASSAGE
FOR PURPOSES OTHER THAN FREE TRANSIT FOR PEACEFUL TRADE AND COM-
MUNICATION; B) I TOLD MENGISTU THAT SOMALIA REMAINED COMMITTED -
AS IT HAD FOR YEARS - TO PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF TERRITORIAL PROB-
LEMS. IN THE CASE OF ERITREA, IT WAS UNFORTUNATE BUT NEVERTHELESS
A MATTER OF RECORD THAT US ASSISTANCE TO HAILE SELASSIE HAD HELPED
TO VIOLATE THE UN RESOLUTION. I ALSO TOLD MENGISTU THAT ANY MORE
BLOODLETTING TO ACHIEVE TERRITORIAL EXPANSIONS COULD ONLY DAMAGE
PEACE IN THE AREA. UNQUOTE. ON THE OGADEN, TFAI, AND KENYA, SIAD
SAID
THAT QUOTE OUR POLICIES ARE SPELLED OUT IN COUNTLESS DOCUMENTS AND
PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS AND ARE WELL KNOWN TO THOSE WHO CARE ABOUT
INJUSTICES TO SUBJUCATED PEOPLES. UNQUOTE.

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8. TURNING TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE AND RHODESIA, SIAD
IMPLORED ME TO URGE WASH. POLICYMAKERS TO READ HIS PROCNOUNCEMENTS
DURING HIS OAU CHAIRMANSHIP. CONTINUING, HE NOTED THAT THE US NOW
HAD
A GREAT OPPORTUNITY TO PLAY AN IMMEDIATE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE DEVOID

OF ANY RACIAL OVERTONES. POINTING TO HIS SKIN HE ASKED, QTE DOES
PIGMEN-
TATION HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH HUMAN BRAINS, SPIRITS OR HEARTS?
UNQTE CONTINUING HE SAID, QTE THE DYNAMICS OF THE ISSUES ARE
MOVING AT SUCH A SPEED THAT IF REASON AND JUSTICE DO NOT OVERCOME
THE STUPID DELAYING TACTICS OF SMITH AND VORSTER, THERE WILL BE A

BLOODBATH IN THE AREA WHICH WILL HAVE TERRIBLE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE WORLD. UNQTE

9. ON ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, HE FAILED TO UNDERSTAND THOSE US POLICYMAKERS WHO CLOSED THEIR EYES TO AN EVOLUTION WHICH WAS SELF-EVIDENT TO ALL AFRICANS, AND COULD ONLY HOPE THAT THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION WOULD MOVE RAPIDLY TO REDRESS THE ERRORS OF ITS PREDECESSORS.

10. RETURNING TO THE QUESTION OF MILITARY AID SIAD SAID -- ALMOST IN A WHISPER -- THAT SOMALIA HOPED TO INCREASE SOURCES FOR ITS DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS AND IN THAT REGARD HE WELCOMED ANY ASSISTANCE FROM FRIENDS AND ALLIES OF THE US. HE KNEW THAT THE QUESTION OF US ASSISTANCE WAS DIFFICULT AND SAID QUOTE SUCH DISCUSSIONS MIGHT FOLLOW LATER UNQUOTE.

11. REPLYING TO MY INSTRUCTIONS ON THE ASSIGNMENT OF A DEFENSE ATTACHE, SIAD AGAIN IN A WHISPER, SAID QTE NOT NOW - PERHAPS LATER. UNQTE.

12. COMMENT: MY IMMEDIATE REACTION IS THAT SIAD IS TRYING TO SLOW DOWN THE RAPIDLY-MOVING DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HORN IN ORDER TO GIVE HIMSELF TIME TO EXAMINE HIS OPTIONS. AS I SEE IT, THE MAJOR VARIABLE IN HIS EQUATION IS THE ACTUAL POSITION AND ULTIMATE GOAL OF THE
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RUSSIANS IN ADDIS AND, THE DEPTH OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO MENGISTU.

WHILE IT APPEARS THAT ADDOU MAY HAVE PLACED THE MOST OPTIMISTIC INTERPRETATION ON SIAD'S INSTRUCTIONS, ONE WHO HAS DEALT WITH THE SOMALIS AND STUDIED THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE KNOWS THAT THEY ARE CAPABLE OF THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY NEGOTIATING TECHNIQUE IN REACHING WHAT THEY ALONE DETERMINE TO BE IN THEIR NATIONAL INTEREST.
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